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NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM IN MOLDOVA, 1917-1990¹

*Irina Livezeanu,
Pittsburgh, USA*

Rezumat

Articolul, redactat inițial în 1990, chiar în timp ce regimurile comuniste din estul Europei cădeau unul după altul, face o analiză comparată a mișcării naționale din Basarabia /Moldova în perioada revoluției ruse din 1917, și în perioada anilor 80, deci cea a prăbușirii comunismului. În ciuda sentimentului de recuperare istorică a Frontului Popular din Moldova, autoarea arată că au existat diferențe profunde nu numai între cele două conjuncturi, dar și în gradul de dezvoltare a conștiinței naționale printre moldovenii de la începutul și sfârșitul perioadei comuniste. Deceniile de modernizare, școlarizare și urbanizare sub egida regimului sovietic au avut efectul neintenționat de a promova identitatea națională printre moldoveni, în timp ce în 1917 mulți dintre cei mobilizați politic fuseseră mai mult orientați către reforme sociale și internaționalism decât spre un veritabil naționalism.

¹ A previous version of this article was published under the title "Moldavia, 1917-1990: Nationalism and Internationalism Then and Now" in *Armenian Review* vol. 43, no. 2-3, Summer/Autumn 1990, Special Double Issue: "The Problems of Nationalism in the Soviet Union" 153-193. I thank the editors of *Armenian Review* for allowing the current revised version of that piece to appear in *Interstitio. East European Review of Historical Anthropology*, vol. I, no. 2.

THE RISE OF MOLDOVAN-ROMANIAN NATIONALISM IN BESSARABIA (1900-1917)¹

*Ionas Aurelian Rus,
Cincinnati, USA*

Abstract

In the article “The Rise of Moldovan-Romanian Nationalism in Bessarabia (1900-1917)”, I analyze qualitatively, and, even more importantly, quantitatively, the rise of the Moldovan-Romanian national movement in Bessarabia between 1900 and 1917, before the beginning of the Russian Revolution. The quasi-non-existence of a Bessarabian Moldovan-Romanian national movement before 1900 was chronologically followed by the weak national movement of 1900-1917.

The article discusses extensively the “ethnic basis”, and especially the Moldovan-Romanian “ethnic basis”, including the prevalent primary Moldovan identity, which made the beginning of the nation-building process possible. It also emphasizes the facilitation of Moldovan-Romanian nation-building by exposure to the Russian-language educational system (or, more typically, a lack thereof). The impact of the class and economic sectoral structure, including the manner in which industrialization hindered the development of the national movement, is also analyzed. Widely overlooked data and nuances, as well as the impact of other variables, are also not ignored.

¹ I would like to thank Professors Irina Livezeanu, Jennifer Cash, Jan Kubik, Myron Aronoff, Mark von Hagen, and Seymour Becker for their feedback on this paper and/or on my earlier research on this topic.

THE HOLOCAUST OF BESSARABIAN JEWRY IN THE HISTORY-WRITING OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA: NEW DEVELOPMENTS

*Vladimir Solonari,
Central Florida, USA*

Abstract

The article analyzes recent Moldovan publications on the Holocaust of Bessarabian and Bukovinian Jewry during World War II, a subject which still remains a sensitive one in Moldova. It critiques a brochure by the former Romanian dissident currently residing in Paris, Paul Goma, and a book by the professional Moldovan historian Sergei Nazaria. Unlike some other Moldovan writers, both authors explicitly recognize the fact of the mass murder of Jews in the provinces in the summer of 1941 but their treatments of the subject, the article argues, are still in some respects inadequate. The article shows how and why it is so in every particular case by drawing on the original archival research. It concludes by stating that Moldovan society still has to come to terms with its own past and that Moldovan historians have to develop ways to talk about their country's recent history in a more meaningful and less partisan manner.

**POLITICAL LITURGIES AND CONCURRENT MEMORIES
IN THE CONTEXT OF NATION-BUILDING PROCESS
IN POST-SOVIET MOLDOVA: THE CASE OF “VICTORY DAY”**

*Ludmila Cojocari,
Chişinău, Republic of Moldova*

Abstract

The study analyses the symbols, discourses, and practices of “Victory Day” commemoration that has resumed its role of the idéologème in the official nation-building discourse in the Republic of Moldova. The research aims to investigate the semantic metamorphosis of the May 9 holiday and thus circumscribes the following objectives: (1)to contour the ideological patterns of the official nation-building discourse, (2)to analyze the reflection of this discourse in the collective memory, and (3)to identify the vectors of memory and of amnesia that may consolidate, destroy or facilitate the reconciliation of community, beyond the current government’s political interests and ideological projects of nation-building in the Republic of Moldova.

**TEACHING HISTORY IN A (NEW) MEDIA WORLD:
HISTORICAL NARRATIVES, THE AUDIOVISUAL, AND THE
DIGITAL PAST**

*Marsba Siefert,
Budapest, Hungary*

Abstract

The article aims to explore a type of historical content that historians have only begun to talk about – the stories of the past that are suffused through popular films and television programs and their newest incarnations in the digital world. The author purpose is to consider both old and new forms of media as they relate to the representation, diffusion, and discussion of the past, with particular attention to what it means for creating narratives for new generations.

The research considers the relationship between media and history in two ways: (1) to expand the idea of a history as a narrative of words to understand how historical narrative is realized as an interactive and visual medium, and (2) to suggest that media versions of history can be seen as another type of “textbook” – that is a source of narratives and images that shape historical material into genres and formats that have their own qualities and values.

COLLECTED MEMORIES, COLLECTIVE AMNESIA, AND POST-COMMUNISM¹

*Paul E. Michelson,
Huntington, USA*

I. Introduction

We begin with three anecdotes.

A. Lewis Coser writes: "I came to this country [the USA] as an immigrant shortly before Pearl Harbor I felt for a long time that there was something in my relations with native Americans that blocked full communication, and that there was a kind of impassible barrier between us. It was only after I remembered Halbwachs's work on memory, which I had read at the Sorbonne, that I was able to put a finger on the reason for this mild estrangement between us. I then realized that they and I did not share enough collective memories I was excluded from their collective memory and they from mine."²

B. James V. Wertsch relates: "While on a trip to Moscow in 1997, I spent a day at a high school known for its strong students and excellent instruction. In addition to observing several classes, I had the opportunity to engage some eleventh grade students in a discussion about World War II, and in this context I asked about the role that the United States had played in this conflict. In response, 'Sasha', a sixteen-old boy, turned to me and said something like the following: 'The United States made a lot of money from selling arms and other things to countries during the early years of the war, but did not really contribute as an ally. In fact, along with Great Britain it refused to open a second front in 1942 and again in 1943. It was only after the U. S. A. and Britain began to think that the Soviet Union might win the war by itself and dominate post-war Europe that they became concerned enough to enter the war in earnest by opening a second front in 1944.' ... He made his presentation in a straightforward, confident manner, displaying little doubt or

¹ A paper prepared for a conference on "History and Collective Memory in Southeastern Europe: Dilemmas of Political Discourse and Their Implications," organized in Chişinău, Moldova, November 22-23, 2007 at Free International University of Moldova by the support of "East-East" Program, Moldova Soros Foundation.

² Lewis A. Coser, "Introduction: Maurice Halbwachs, 1877-1945," in: Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, edited and translated by Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 21. One might speculate on the impact on American academia and the eventual effect on American "collective memory" of the huge influx of European émigrés after 1933. See Laura Fermi, *Illustrious Immigrants: The Intellectual Migration from Europe, 1930-41*, second edition (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1971).

DISCURSUL IDEOLOGIC ÎN COMUNISMUL ROMÂNESC. METAMORFOZELE SALE DE LA STALINISM LA NAȚIONAL- COMUNISM (1947-1965)

*Mihai Teodor Nicoară,
Cluj-Napoca, România*

Abstract

The scientific interest for the research of the ideological communist discourse appeared especially after the sixties in the West of Europe being considered by some analysts as a new field of multidisciplinary research. The ideological analysis of communism was an extremely audacious enterprise taking into account the difficulties encountered by the communist system, especially in U.R.S.S., after the Second World War. Because of its limited ability to change the reality according to its goals, the communist discourse intended to enoke in the magical sense of the word, a reality that does not actually exist. The argumentative discourse based on manipulative techniques and widely spread through literate, journalistic and educational means, was founded on the principle of the "Chinese drop"! As all the ideological communist experiences, the Romanian communism develops an ideal discourse based on specific techniques such as the magical mechanism of symbolic neutralization, of perpetual concealment of political defaults in all ages.

SPÓR O WILNO W LATACH 1919-21 A PRÓBA WSKRZESZENIA LITWY HISTORYCZNEJ, JAKO PAŃSTWA TRZECH NARODÓW

*Joanna Januszewska-Jurkiewicz,
Katowice, Poland*

Abstract

The rivalry over Wilno in 1919-1921 and an attempt to recreate historical Lithuania as the state of three nations

During World War I German Army occupied the area of former Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which had become a part of Russia Empire after destruction of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. After Germany's defeat in 1918, aspirations of different nations and political camps clashed there. The Red Army was marching to Wilno with the hope of creating the next soviet republic. The Lithuanians were defending the concept of an ethnic Lithuania with the bigger part of Vilnius province and with Wilno as its historical capital. Poles considered Wilno as Polish city, an important center of Polish culture. Byelorussian politicians maintained that a significant portion of the local population spoke Byelorussian; on the other hand, majority of them were people with unclear national identity who usually called themselves "belonging to here". As for Jews, they were particularly prominent in the city of Wilno and they decided support Lithuanians. The pro-Lithuanian stance of Jews in Wilno was related to the concessions made by Lithuania to them in the sphere of national and cultural autonomy

Józef Piłsudski, the Head of Polish state, promoted international cooperation against Russian imperialism. The independent Ukraine together with Romania, Poland and Baltic States were to form an East European entente resisting the spreading of Bolshevik system to the West. Wilno was very important for Piłsudski's plans as a capital city of so called historical Lithuania which should be constituted by three national cantons and closely connected to Polish state. Piłsudski's attempt to create a multi ethnic state within the area of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania failed. Lithuanians rejected it, and most of Poles in Wilno demanded the Wilno province to be incorporated into Poland.

POLITICO-ECONOMICAL MARKERS IN THE PROJECT OF THE TRANSNISTRIAN REGIONAL IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION

*Ala Svet,
Chisinau, Republic of Moldova*

Abstract

The Transnistrian region offers an example of a state with serious problems of national and political identity that was able to negotiate provisional solutions. British sociologist Anthony D. Smith presented what he believed to be the five fundamental features of a national identity. They are indeed crucial in the formation of an identity and include a historic homeland, common historical myths and memories, a mass public culture, common legal rights for all members, and a common economy (Smith 1991, p. 20). All these identity indicators underwent change in the Transnistrian region after 1989, when the USSR collapsed and nationalist movements started on the two banks of the Dniester River. From August to December 1989, the Moldavian Socialist Soviet Republic (MSSR) Parliament passed a series of language laws that made the Moldavian language the official state language and provided the transition from Cyrillic to Latin script. A new tricolor flag was adopted and a national anthem that was the same as that of Romania. Then, in the summer of 1990, the MSSR declared sovereignty, changing its status within the USSR.

*A group of Russian speakers led by Igor Smirnov, a factory manager who came to Moldova in November 1987 to become a director of the *Электромаш* (Elektromash) factory in Tiraspol, expressed concern that the newly sovereign MSSR would soon seek reunification with Romania and take Transnistria along with it. On August 11, 1989, several Transnistrian workers' collectives united under the single banner of the Union of Workers Collectives (OSTK) and pursued a policy of secession from Moldova. Igor Smirnov was the first Chairman of the OSTK. On September 2, 1990, Transnistria declared its separation from Moldova and its existence as a republic within the USSR with "full powers" in the economic sphere.*

The research follows the course of Moldova-Transnistria coexistence; examines the influences on identity formation, especially the economical aspects which formed the contours of identity, and attempts to gauge popular responses to the challenges of the postwar partition.

THE REPRESENTATION OF HISTORY AND IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION: A TRANSNISTRIAN MUSEUM AS A CASE STUDY

*Olga Filippova,
Kharkiv, Ukraine*

Abstract

The paper explores how historical knowledge represented in museums constructs an identity. Based on the data obtained during the author's research trips to Transnistria in November 2006 and June-July 2007, the paper investigates what elements constitute the basis for the Transnistrian identity construction. To explore this issue the author focuses on the museum as the public space for the representation of history and identity construction. The analysis of the Transnistrian identity's "historical content" suggests that this identity encompasses elements of the following three forms – legitimizing, resistance and project identity (Castells's classification of identity). Legitimizing identity is constructed by the official discourse, which widely uses the elements of resistance identity. The same elements of resistance identity are sources of forming the project identity, which in the immediate future will be constructed on the basis of the ideas about Transnistrian independence and sovereignty.